

Tauihu: The Maori Canoe Prow

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The purpose of this paper is two-fold. In the first place it records the types of canoe-prow made by the Maori in New Zealand and illustrates the various decorative designs that enhance their structure and form. Secondly it provides instances and details to amplify the observation that these several types, at first sight so different, possess important features in common, and that the differences themselves are no more than modes in which these common characteristics are presented or developed.

The photographs and drawings which follow will also reveal whatever aesthetic quality *tauihu* possess; we hope they will be found worthy of attention for this as well.

River-Canoe Prow

The plainest type of prow belonged to the fishing canoe, the small, broad dug-out with wash-strakes, used for everyday coastal work. It will be seen that this simple prow (Fig. 1), known as *tete*, is essentially a bow-cover with a transverse wash-board behind and a carved head in front. Its almost purely functional structure and its very general use in New Zealand fairly mark it as the prototype.

The bow-cover portion is fitted and lashed to the dug-out below and to the wash-strakes behind; the head is borne at the end of a neck of varying length. Apart from the typical mask details of the face the river-canoe prow was undecorated.

The stern-post of this work-a-day canoe was likewise unornamented; it was little more than the necessary rest or fulcrum for the large steering paddle to bear against. Nevertheless, it swept upward gracefully as a continuation of the curve, or sheer, of the after end of the vessel, as, at the other end, the neck of the prow carried the corresponding curve upward and forward to the figure-head.

Our next example is a prow from Doubtless Bay illustrated in text figure 3 and Plate 57, fig. 2. Although unfamiliar in general appearance, it maintains the functional structure of a bow-cover typical of the river-canoe type. The head, with its small attendant creature behind, is unusual in appearance, and both it and the vertical neck-pillar are studded with thorn-like projections. Similar spurs or spikes project from human figures and heads carved on a slab recovered from the Awanui swamp only twelve miles distant (Archey, 1933, p. 209).

The long, projecting mouth of this figure-head would suggest a bird motive, were it not for the large conical teeth (matched in human head carvings from this district) and the essentially similar though not so extreme projection of the mouth in other river-canoe prows (Text fig. 2). Indeed, the three prows here illustrated (text figures 1-3) provide a typical example of extension or decorative elaboration of an

anatomical feature, in this case the mouth, that is so common a feature of Maori wood-carving.

Another unusual prow is that outlined in Figure 4 and Plate 57, fig. 1. More so than any other it is a practical bow-cover. We do not know what the canoe it belonged to looked like, but in our sketch we suggest something long, narrow and shallow, feeling that the gentle upward sweep of the prow would have been an expression or an extension of similar lines of the bow of the canoe. The prow itself is clearly another variant of the *tete*. In a way its upward and forward sweep foreshadows the outline of the leading edge of the highly decorated prow of the large war-canoe, *waka taua*, to which, as the main subject of this paper, we now turn.

The War Canoe Prow

Structurally the war-canoe prow, *tauihu* (Fig. 5), is but an elaboration of the prow of the river-canoe. It comprises the same bow-cover or lid with a transverse wash-board at the after end; but the simple projecting neck and head of the *tete* have now become a full human figure vigorously postured. The upper level of the bow-cover, instead of curving downward as a neck, continues horizontally forward beyond the transverse wash-board to reach and merge with the curved body of the leading figure. A final modification is that instead of the whole of the wood between the wash-board and the head having been cut away, there has been left a mid-line vertical panel connecting them, a panel that vies with the leading figure itself for our interest and attention.

In the first place, this panel has an obvious structural or strengthening function; it is also an escutcheon for a striking decorative design. Although the general composition of its decoration is the same for all *tauihu* in its group, it is saved from being stereotyped by an intriguing variety in its details and in the proportion of its parts. None the less, it is standardized in another way, for although it is unmistakably the pattern peculiar to *tauihu*, it also comes within an even wider convention characteristic of the greater part of Maori wood carving.

This convention I have described elsewhere (Archey, 1955, p. 12) as an alternation of *tiki* (human figures standing fullface) and *manaia* (human figures in lively attitude and with profile face), a theme that has become further developed into an alternation of figures (*tiki* or *manaia*) and double or interlocking spirals.

If the reader will turn to Plate 58 he will see, in an exceptionally fine *tauihu* from the Bay of Plenty, a clear presentation of this alternation. The elements comprise in succession: (a) the leading figure; (b) a part *manaia* facing aft; (c) a large double-spiral (*pitau*); (d) a stylized full-face figure in openwork or pierced carving; (e) another large *pitau*; (f) a forward-looking *manaia* elongated and somewhat cramped to fit the available space; and (g) a figure with its back to the wash-strake looking aft into the canoe.

The theme of alternate figures and spirals appears regularly in door-lintels and in many other carvings. The *tauihu* panel version acquires its special characteristics from the carver having taken advantage of the proportions of the panel to emphasize and expand the double-spirals so that they become the dominant element in the design. The



Fig. 1. River-canoe prow, *tete*. Coromandel. Auckland Museum; presented Miss Lucy Cranwell.

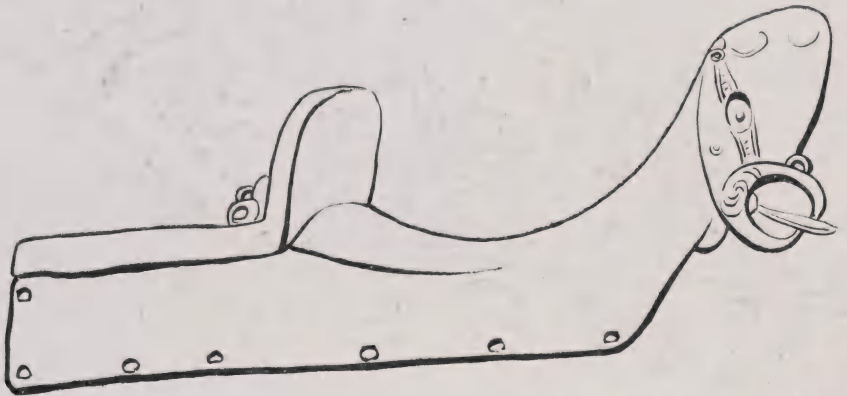


Fig. 2. River-canoe prow; no record; Auckland Museum, 6335.

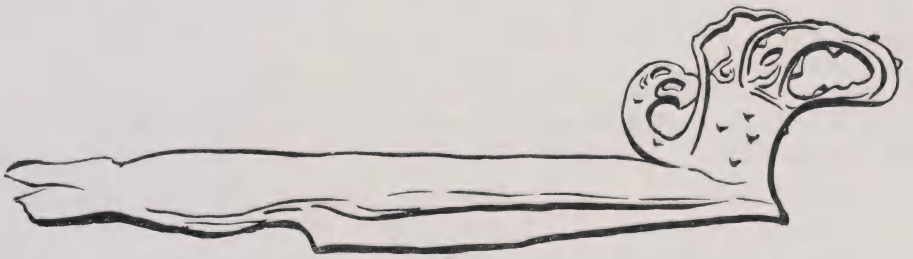


Fig. 3. Prow from Doubtless Bay. Auckland Museum, 3654.

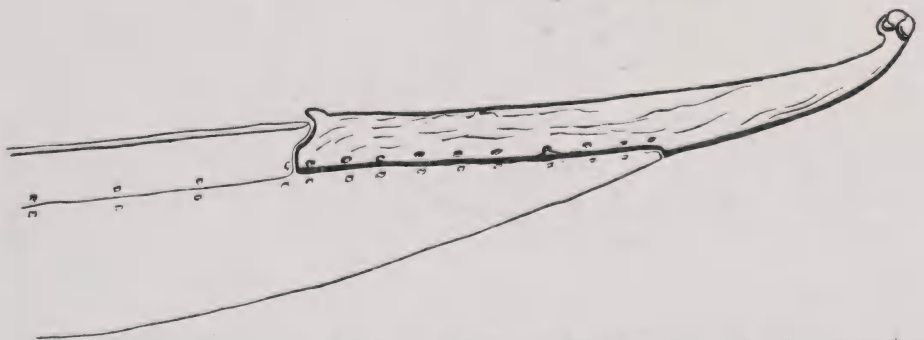


Fig. 4. Prow in Taranaki Museum.

Maori name for these elements stresses this special interest: *pitanu* denotes the double spiral pattern itself; it also stands for this type of prow and as well for a canoe that bears it.

The base of the prow also has a standard composition or content in its decoration but with rather more variation. Typically the horizontal upper surface of the bow-cover bears a full-face human figure looking upward (Plate 59). It is, of course, divided into two halves by the vertical panel.

On the vertical sides of the base (Fig. 5) we again find a succession of human forms. At the after end is a human figure, full-face though



Fig. 5. *Tauihu*: carved prow of war-canoe.

in sideways stance; in front of this is a large forward-looking profile face with upper lip only, from under which projects a large curved tongue. This enloops anteriorly with another element, apparently a tongue, or a lip maybe, or even a body grasped around, as it often is, by a hand.

The prow itself is wide behind where, therefore, the two sides of the base stand separate, each abutting against the canoe wash-strake of its side. Anteriorly the base narrows, whereby the anterior portions

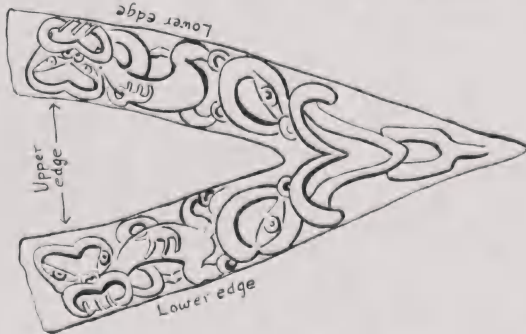


Fig. 6. Design on the vertical sides of base of *tauihu*; shown as if the sides had been splayed out horizontally.

of the lips of the large profile face meet medianly and, with a now *single* tongue and anterior loop, form a median basal support for the narrower forward portion of the prow. If one were able to slice off the horizontal flat bow-cover, and splay outwardly the vertical walls, the design on the base would appear something like the pattern outlined in figure 6.



Figs. 7, Bay of Plenty, *cf.* Pl. 58; 8, Wanganui Museum, *cf.* Pl. 61, 1.

The different lengths of the base among *tauihu* offered opportunities for varying the design of the sides, either by including an extra figure or telescoping the elements together. The prow of Te Toki a Tapiri, the 82-ft. *waka taua* in this museum, is exceptionally long; the composition of its base pattern (Plate 62, fig. 2) includes no less than three figures, i.e., a full-face figure aft, a *manaia* looking forward, and next a human body with its neck joining the top and back of the customary large head profile. The interloop motive by which the design terminates is composed of limbs or bodies. In a much shortened model-canoe prow (Plate 65, fig. 3) it is the upper lip itself of the profile face that provides the first part of the interloop. Extra room for this relatively large interloop was obtained by omitting the forward horizontal part of the bow-cover: after all, it was hardly necessary in a model. Nevertheless, the same omission of bow-cover to allow for a more ample interloop, or incipient double-spiral, is a feature of a fine *tauihu* from the Wanganui district in the Dominion Museum (Plate 65).

Coming now to the design which separates the large double spirals of the central panel, we find one of the most interesting of Maori carving patterns. Its theme is simple enough, a standing figure, usually full face; but it is handled in all degrees of intricacy of open-work or tracery. Two examples, from the Royal Scottish (fig. 11) and from the Auckland Museum (fig. 7) show it in fairly simple outline; some of the ensuing elaboration is illustrated in the accompanying text figures (8 to 13) and others can be followed in the photographic illustrations. Two faces, one upside down and each with fingers in the mouth, comprise the pattern in the Ngatiawa prow of Plate 63, fig. 1; and even more intricate details of face profiles appear in Plate 63, fig. 3, where the lower portion of the pattern is a medley of face and figure profiles.

The rear-facing figure with its back to the wash-board is usually naturalistic, but even this may be patterned. The most elaborate included here is in figure 3 of plate 64; could it be that the complexity in this case ensued by way of compensation for the carver, who had somehow rendered the central panel figure more than usually naturally?

A final detail remaining for mention is the keel or band borne by the leading figure; *pītau* and *manaia* are the usual elements but often reduced or cramped together.

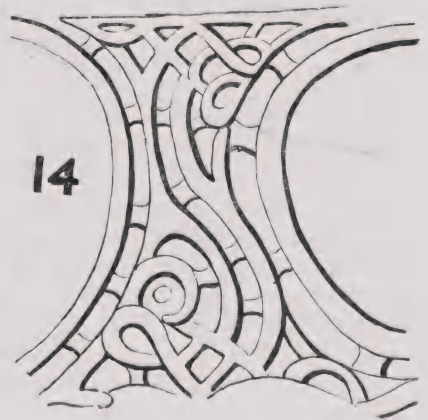
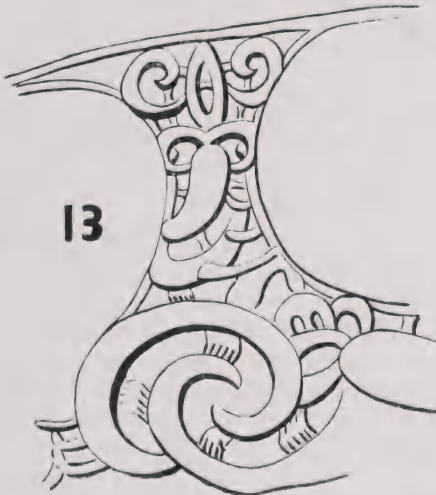
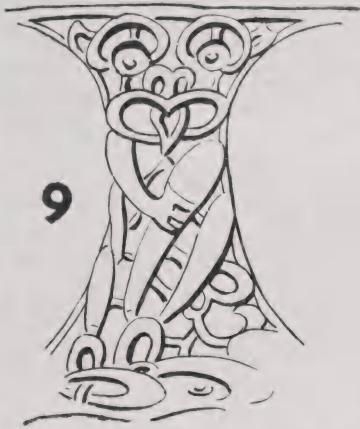
The foregoing description may have been somewhat tedious in its detail, though it will have served to reveal the ingenious complexity the Maori carver often indulged in. Greater interest, however, attaches to the strong sense of design appearing in parts of *tauihu* composition and to the presentation in one carved object of three or more stages of the handling of subject matter in decorative art.

Thus, referring to Plate 63, fig. 1, the vigorous leading figure and the small figure aft are hardly so far modified in the direction of applied sculpture as to remove them from the representative or realistic, and the same can be said of the relief figure that gazes steadily upward from the broad basal portion or bow-cover of the prow. Stylization appears in the large profile face of the base, and is well advanced in the intricate pierced figures between the spirals. The spirals are, of course, abstract forms of high quality, and the *pītau*, as they are named, have become an accepted form frequently used in composition, though still freely employed in all stages of stylized interlocking lips.

It is, however, in the openwork central figure of the panel that we find not merely versatility within a convention but also an originality that can fairly be rated as creative design. In figures 8 and 10, for example, we see how the features above the stylized mouth surrender their natural form to become abstract decorative detail. The limbs are handled to the same purpose even more successfully; obviously their shape as limbs was of little concern to the craftsman intent on winning a design from them.

Appreciation of the Maori carver's possession of this conscious sense both of design, and of abstraction as a means of achieving it, is of prime significance for our understanding of Maori art either aesthetically or historically. It enables us to see the carver as someone positively aware of the design possibilities of the natural forms he is using, and capable of taking hold of them and bending them to his purpose. This interest in pure pattern can hardly be seen better than in figure 14, where two bodies are first drawn out into curved parallel bands aligned with the sweep of the double spirals between which they stand and then recurved as scroll-rendered *manaia* faces to fill the upper and lower areas.

An abstract design so neatly achieved is not only aesthetically acceptable; it speaks of creative art and of individual purpose as well as feeling as its source. And reverting to the natural forms that inspired it, it is not without interest to compare these two elongated abstractions with the slender undulating *manaia* that form the primary motive in the next form of *tauihu* we introduce—the trapezoid prow.



Figs. 9, Auckland Museum, *cf.* Pl. 64, 3; 10, Waitara, Bishop Museum, 1424; 11, Royal Scottish Museum, *cf.* Pl. 65, 1; 12, East Coast, *cf.* Pl. 63, 3; 13, Okehu, Wanganui, *cf.* Pl. 65, 2; 14, Hamilton, Maori Art, p. 46, Pl. 11.

The Trapezoid Prow

We turn then to the form of prow illustrated in figure 15. A name applied to it was *toiere*. At first sight it seems to stand completely apart from the *taiihu* we have been describing. It is undoubtedly different, but not entirely so, either structurally or in its decorative design.

Considering it first structurally, we observe that a panel (*toiere*) stands vertically above a flat bow-cover (*taumatua*, i.e., support) and backs against a transverse wash-board (*paretai*). The *toiere* thereby occupies the same position as the mid-line panel of the *pitau*-decorated war canoe prow; it is its homologue.

Observing it next as decoration, we soon recognize the unusual elements comprising it as no more than forms with which we are familiar handled in a different manner.

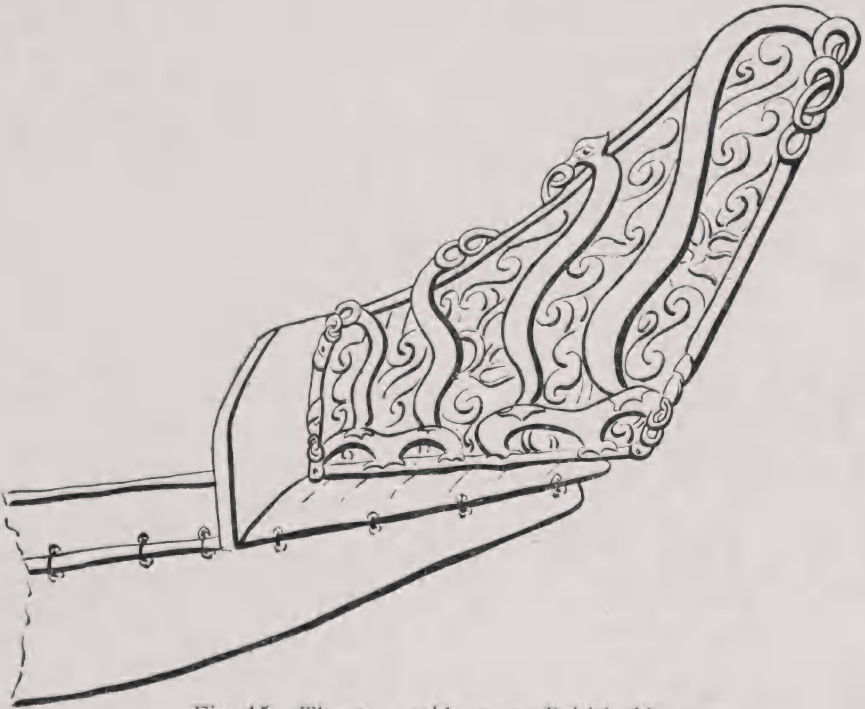


Fig. 15. The trapezoid prow; British Museum.

Fundamentally, the *composition* or content of the panel decoration is the same in both types of prow, i.e., an alternation of human figures or *manaia* with interloop (or double-spiral) tracery. It is only in the relative size of the spirals and in the treatment of the human figure that they differ. In the one we see openwork full-face figures as already described; in the other the figures are extremely elongated *manaia* of the type found in other carvings from the Northland area. What we are looking at is an art preference, wherein the fine spiral rhythm of one school stands in contrast to the rhythm of undulating figures of the other. And in the latter case the whole of the human figures, not only the enlooped mouths, have become stylized to produce the desired pattern. They are still recognizable, however, as figures in profile, not having been carried forward beyond stylization to the degree of abstract design of figure 14 discussed above.

The basal portion and the transverse wash-board were also ornamented. No satisfactory illustration is available for inclusion here, but Plate X of Hamilton's *Maori Art* shows naturalistic figures on the wash-board and a pattern of stylized figures on the bow-cover. An additional feature was a carved head with tattooed face (Pl. 67) carried right forward on the hull itself.

Trapezoid prows have, from time to time, been referred to as "northern"; but this is by no means a reliable allocation. One such prow is from the Waikato River; the two illustrated in *Maori Art*, p. 53, Plate V, are localized "Auckland," but if the city is intended they may have reached it from almost anywhere. The finest of this type, in the British Museum (Plate 66, fig. 1), is unlocalized. While, therefore, the attribution of these to "Northland" may be tentatively made on the basis of the carving style, it should be remembered that this is only conjectural.

A Connecting Link

The last prow to be mentioned is particularly interesting, not merely because it is old stone-tool work, but also for its clearly intermediate position between the two types of prow we have been considering. Like each of them, it comprises (Fig. 16) a bow-cover base and a transverse

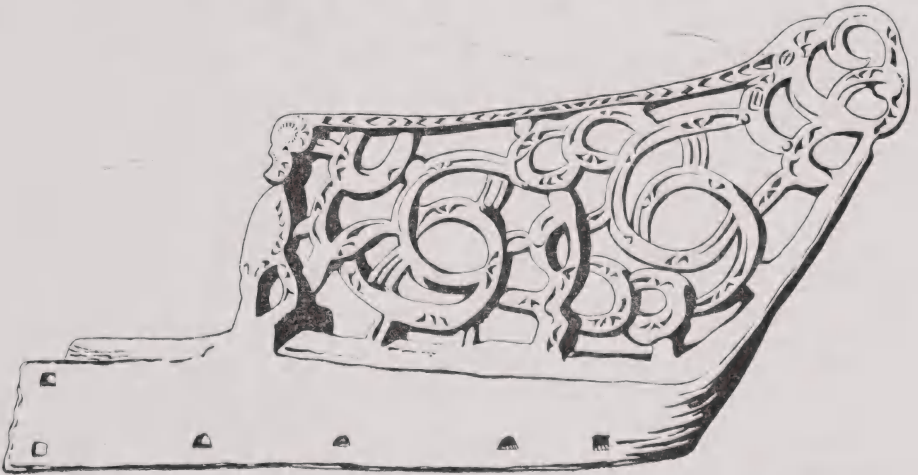


Fig. 16. North Taranaki prow.

wash-strake, though a very low one, and a median panel. The latter, though somewhat crudely carved, bears the simplest possible rendering of the alternate human figure and double spiral (or loops in this case) characteristic of the median panel in both of the others. The panel itself, moreover, is of the same form and proportion as the standard type, and its upward sweeping leading edge would require only the slightest treatment to make a man of it. Instead, the panel bears a *manaia*, much reduced, at the extremity, a figure that would only have to be lengthened to make the long *manaia* of, say, the superb British Museum prow.

The three prows comprising Plate 66 have but to be compared to enable us to realize that all three are related in functional structure, in basic form, and in the content of their decorative design. *Tauihu* thus

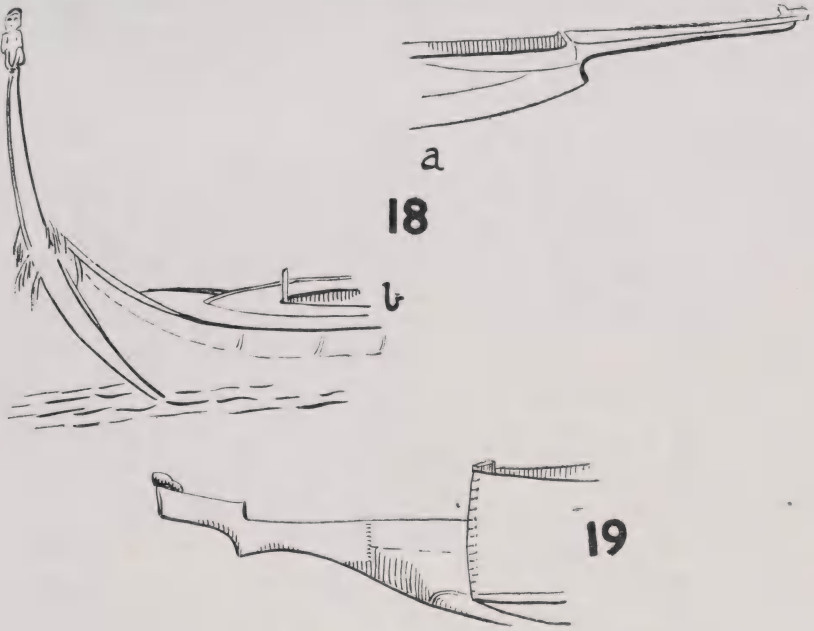


Fig. 18 a and b. Tahiti: Hornell.
Fig. 19. Nukutavake: Hornell.

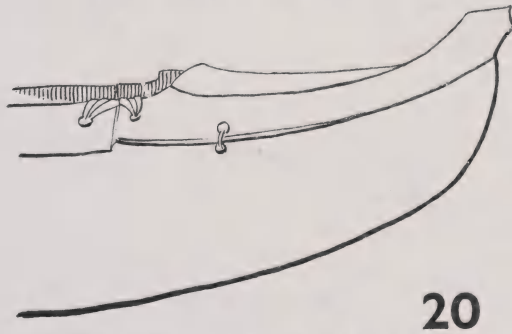


Fig. 20. Rarotonga: Auckland Museum.

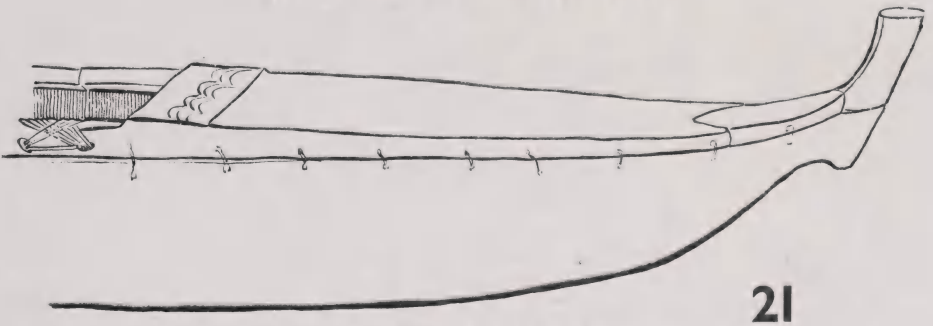


Fig. 21. Atiu: Auckland Museum.

In Rarotonga the bow-cover (Fig. 20) was perfectly plain and projected only slightly beyond the hull; but in an Atiu canoe in this museum (Fig. 21) there is a long flat fore-deck covering the anterior one-fifth of the hull, next in front is a short bow-cover and terminally a small upward projection fitted between bow-cover and hull,

stand, with *pare* or door lintels, as examples of the manner in which the Maori carver used his *tiki* and *manaia* in repetition and alternation with spirals to produce patterns basically the same but diverging in method of treatment. These styles comprise what might be called the schools of Maori art, but not of schools precisely defined either geographically or stylistically, because we already see from the relatively few examples available how varied in manner they are and how frequently and strongly the ideas and feelings of individual artists find expression in them.

Canoe Prows in Polynesia

On comparing the Maori canoe prow with those of Polynesia we again quickly realize how similar they all are, at least in basic form. Structurally, or practically, each is a bow-cover which extends the sheer of the hull upward and forward; symbolically or commemoratively each nearly always carries in front a head or a human figure. The prows in the islands exhibit this structural arrangement in varying manner, but simply and without elaboration except in the Marquesas, where additional human figures, incipiently stylized, appear. The accompanying sketches, for the most part copied from Hornell (1936), show the styles characteristic in each group.



Fig. 17 a and b. Marquesas: Hornell.

The basic relationship between hull, wash-strakes and bow-cover is seen in the Marquesan prow illustrated in text-figure 17a. The slender curved forward reach, and its termination, look like a bird neck and head in profile view, but the upward-gazing face is distinctly human. The close similarity of this prow to the Taranaki Museum example outlined in figure 4 (p. 367) is readily apparent, as is its general resemblance to the standard Maori river canoe prow of figure 1, except in the style of the face or head.

In Tahiti one type of prow (Fig. 18a) is a plain plank-like projection narrowing slightly forward; another is an upwardly curved extension of the bow with a small human figure looking forward (Fig 18b). A second figure on this canoe looks behind from the stern, which differs from the prow only in being higher. Hornell (p. 124) thought, however, that this canoe might be Tuamotuan, or from Rurutu. A definitely localized Tuamotuan canoe described by Hornell is from Nukutavake; its prow (Fig. 19) is a solid "long and gracefully tapered blunt-ended projection."

In Tikopia (Fig. 23) the prow is carved from the dug-out hull itself, as it is in Samoa (Fig. 22); the dental decoration is also similar, though more extensive in Tikopia. In the latter a separately fitted bow-cover is lashed on above the prow.

All these prows are very simple; the one attempt at elaboration, from the Marquesas (Fig. 17*b*), has stylized human figures in mid-line between the transverse wash-board and the terminal carved face. Simple though it be, its basic form invites comparison with that of the Maori war canoe, each comprising a transverse wash-board, a horizontal base plate, a terminal face and a vertical mid-panel. Except, however, for this very tentative approach, the island canoes have no part in the extension and elaboration of structure and ornament that so strikingly characterises the *tauihu* of Aotearoa.

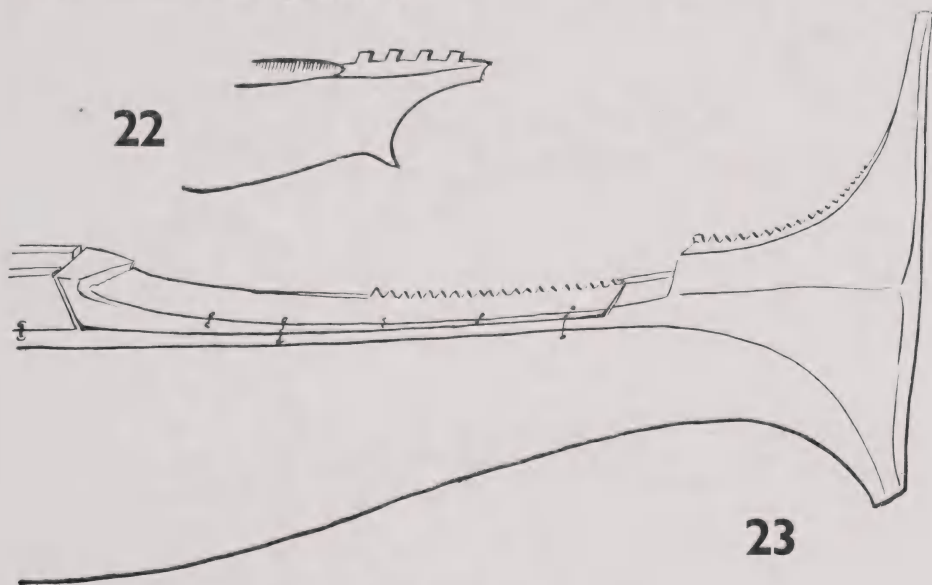


Fig. 22. Samoa: Auckland Museum.

Fig. 23. Tikopia: Auckland Museum.

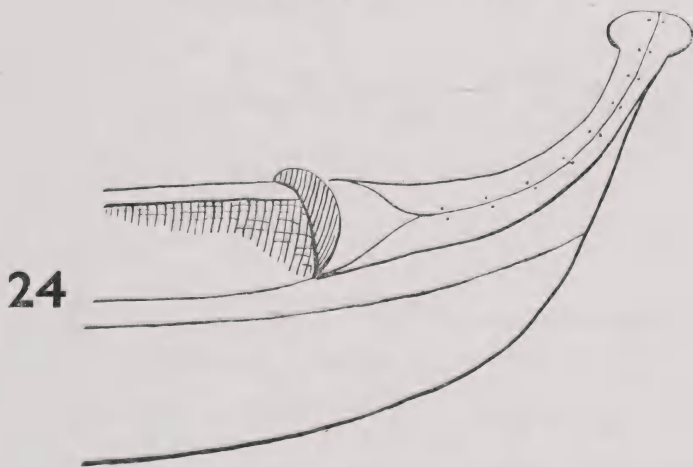


Fig. 24. Hawaii: Hornell.

Nevertheless, the fundamental structural design appears in all of them: i.e., in the bow-cover and terminal head or figure. Here, then, is the essential relationship among them. From these basic elements the Maori, and only the Maori, has developed further structural elements and decorative complexity. Not only *tauihu*, but *taurapa* also (Archey, 1938), exhibits the development or evolution from a plain practical form towards extension and elaboration, and in practically every phase of Maori wood-carving we find told a similar story of local development not only of structure but also of decorative design.

Indeed, throughout Polynesia the basic content of wood-carving is the same; the development is different in each area, though with relationships between the island arts of the Oceanic region where a rectilinear fashion prevailed. Even the simple spirals of the Marquesas, developed from insect legs and antennae, have experienced the rectilinear restriction, the outcome, I suggest, of the difficulty of carving in really hard wood.

Only the Maori, favoured with the soft wood of the totara and with sharp greenstone chisels, had launched into the complexity of free flowing patterns, with what success the *tauihu* patterns are by no means the only examples.

When, therefore, we see, in the Polynesian region from which the Maori traditionally came and to which he is culturally related, the basic structural elements alone of the *tauihu* without any decorative elaboration, and when we see in the remote and isolated colony of Aotearoa every degree of departure from them and every stage in evolution of structural and ornamental complexity, the history of the art of the Maori and of its design elements ought to be readily apparent.

The view that art motives in Maori carving have a local origin is, I submit, abundantly attested in the body of the art itself; their development accords with the principle stated by Duff (1950, p. 2), that "persistent and continuous change . . . is self-motivated or spontaneous" and "independent of . . . influx of foreign populations," though hardly, I would say, free from the effect of environment, an environment that in this case not only provided occasion in the needs of house building and transportation, and supplied means in suitable wood and effective tools, but also furnished inspiration in a stimulating climate and noble natural surroundings.

More immediately and technically, or psychologically if you prefer it, the inspiration that has developed Maori carving patterns has been the individual craftsman's direct and positive interest in form as such, and his awareness of the possibilities inherent in these forms for the creation of harmonious and well-balanced design.

Discussion: A Native Art?

Two aspects of enquiry have been appearing alternately in the foregoing: the active practice of Maori art and its manner or place of origin. They are, in my opinion, inter-related, for there is, in the range of expression of an art and the versatility and competence of the handling of all its aspects, a significance for its origin equal to that which might be sought in apparent similarities in the forms appearing in different places.

To return to the primary subject of this paper, the canoe-prow: at the time of Cook's discovery, *tauihu* were being carved in every stage of structural and decorative extension or elaboration. So were *taurapa*; so were house carvings. Carvers were producing simple, practical articles and plain naturalistic sculpture; either or both of these might be stylized or elaborated or wrought into patterns. The patterns themselves were won from whole figures or from any part—face, body or limbs; the patterns would trend in the one direction of involved curves or spirals or in the other direction towards simple, restrained abstraction. Moreover, all these details and the trends appeared even in one small composition, the central panel device we have been discussing. To repeat: the head appears full-face or profile with the fingers varyingly introduced to enhance the complexity; in most of them the limbs are stylized and set at studied angles almost in the "contemporary" manner, while in one illustrated (Fig. 14) the natural form is drawn out into a graceful, evenly flowing design that stands in accord with the spiralling of the bordering *pitau*.

We have seen elsewhere (Archey, 1933; 1955) how the *pitau* itself is almost invariably a pattern of interlocking lips in varying degrees of extension or expansion; occasionally by way of further versatility, or creative enjoyment, whole bodies or limbs are so enwhorled. In another school, Taranaki, an entwining of undulating bodies forms the pattern, while in the Kaitaia carving a simplification of limbs produces an abstraction of strangely moving power. Few arts can present so many styles. These parallels of pattern evolution are themselves evidence of local development, unless, of course, there should be, as there are not, art motives elsewhere of these several kinds from which we could fairly derive them.

Coming then to the question of origins, I am constrained to add a comment on the supposed introduction or borrowing of the New Zealand double spiral from an outside art. Does it not, in the face of such clear design competence as Maori art displays, appear altogether unnecessary, or even trivial, to introduce one such borrowed element when, within the art, not only this one but so many others are so freely created and used?

If there were real evidence of spiral forms in Central Polynesia we should, of course, have to accept the possibility or even the probability of their having been brought here; but where are they? It is precisely here that the theory of introduced spirals encounters its main ethnological difficulty, i.e.: in the need to find a satisfactory or convincing place of origin and route to New Zealand. Skinner (1924, 233) recognized this need and postulated a curvilinear art style formerly dominating Polynesia and later lost in the centre through a "strong new rectilinear fashion" from which Maori art and to a less extent Marquesan were "preserved by isolation."

Barrow has recently (1955, 17) dismissed this argument as "lacking evidence," and in even briefer terms; I myself have never found it acceptable, nor indeed more than an unsupported supposition. It is quoted approvingly, however, by Duff (1950, p. 5), who sees in it support for his own theory that marginal distribution of an item of culture is evidence of its former existence at the centre of the area. It should, however, be commented here that the evidence for Duff's theory is the

existence of *identical* adzes at no less than ten marginal localities, whereas there are only two by no means similar arts for consideration, Marquesan and Maori, in which, moreover, the single pair of supposedly related spiral elements are obviously different both in their origins and their form.

In each of these two arts the spiral is an end product derived from a natural form, but a different form in each case. Marquesan art, like Maori, also stylizes face masks, but in a manner as near to Haida Indian as to Maori. Interestingly, one Marquesan prow (Fig. 176) has features in common with *tauihu*, but the relationship is in basic essentials and not in the elaborations that comprise the full decorative vigour of the Maori achievement.

Not only in its unmatched variety and creative vitality, but also by the continuing existence within it of all phases of its development, Maori art is marked as a local achievement. On the other hand, the absence from areas in which one would expect to find it of evidence of outside relationship, except in simple basic components, indicates its derivation from a central art in which those as yet undifferentiated elements, mostly naturalistic human forms, were common to all.

The closest parallel to Maori carving, in both its component elements and its art form, is in the moderately stylized human figures set alternately full face and sideways in the staff gods of Rarotonga. The Cook Islands, moreover, are quite a likely area in which to find a parallel to the *basic patterning* of Maori art.

All this has, however, taken us away from *tauihu*, to which we return only to recall that it is in the basic structural features that it and the canoe-prows of Polynesia closely and clearly resemble one another. Except in Aotearoa the Polynesian canoe prow has remained in the unspecialized form; only the Maori has developed it. He has done so *structurally*, in the *composition* of its decorative theme, in the richness and diversity of its *patterning*, and most notably in his conception and achievement of *design*.

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Fig. 1. Taranaki Museum.

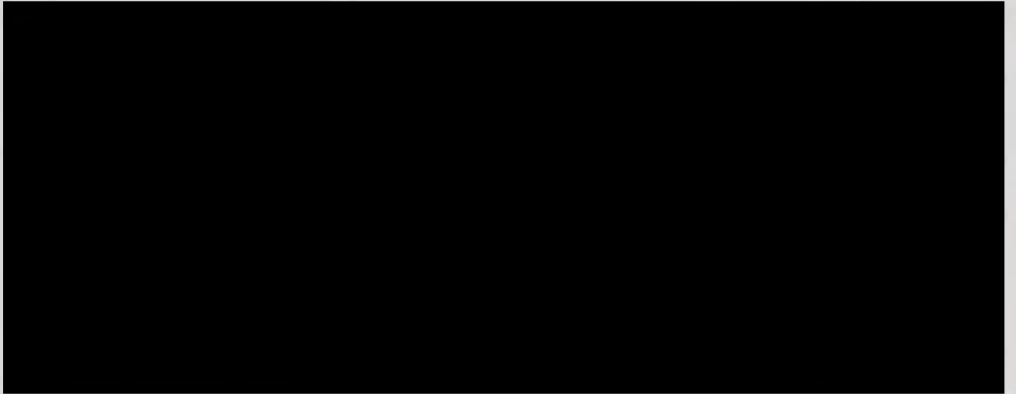
Fig. 2. Doubtless Bay. Auckland Museum, 3654.

a —
b —
c —
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f —
g —

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War-canoe prow, *tauīhu*; Bay of Plenty. Auckland Museum, 171. (a) Leading figure; (b) part-*manaia* facing aft; (c) double-spiral, *pītau*; (d) stylized human figure; (e) *pītau*; (f) elongated *manaia* looking forward; (g) human figure looking aft.

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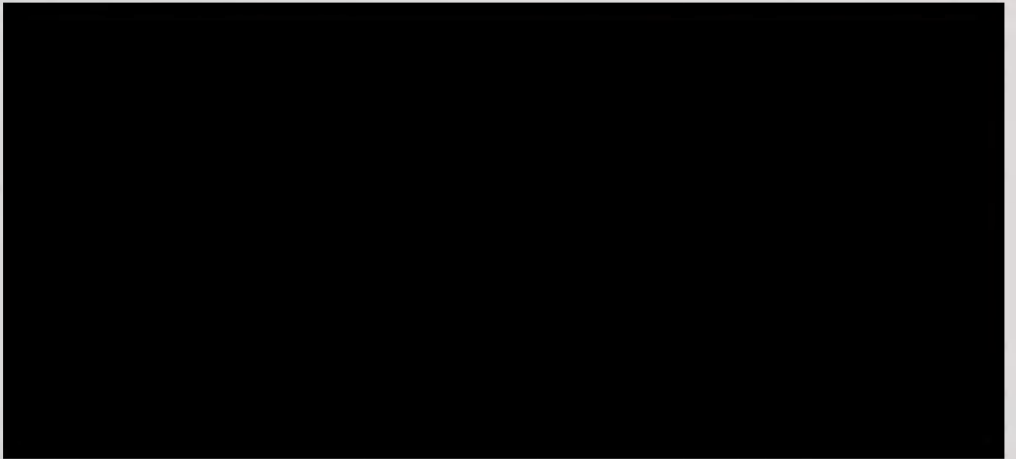


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Fig. 1. University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Figs. 2 and 3. *Loc.* Kapiti. Canterbury Museum, E. 141.787. (Wash-boards renewed.)

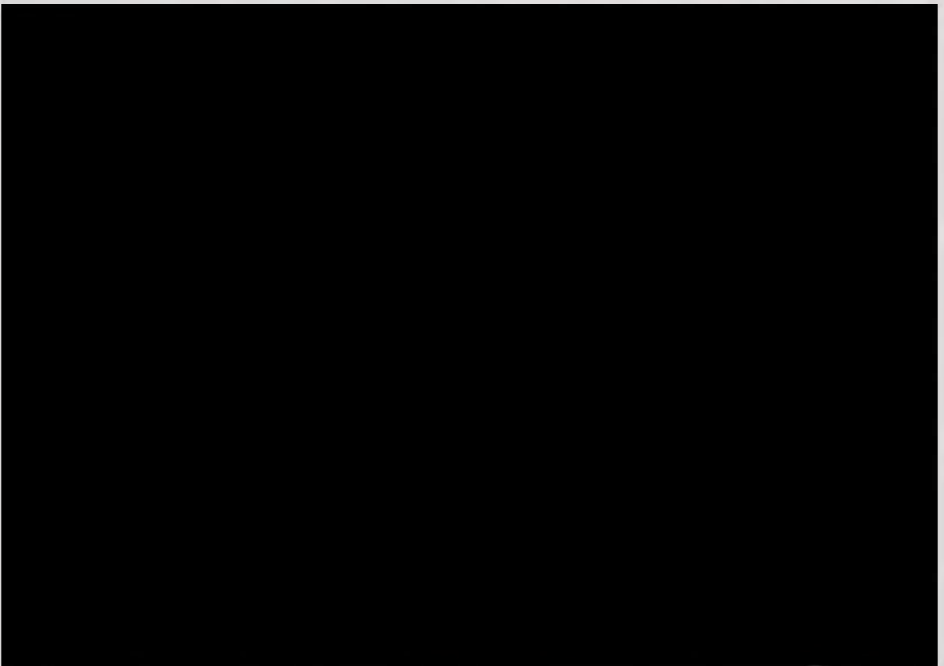


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Fig. 1. Locality and place of deposition unknown. Photo. Dominion Museum.

Fig. 2. Captured by Ngaitai of Whakatane from raiding Ngapuhi. Locality probably Bay of Islands. Auckland Museum, 197.

Fig. 3. Bay of Plenty. Auckland Museum, 171. Photo. H. Powell.

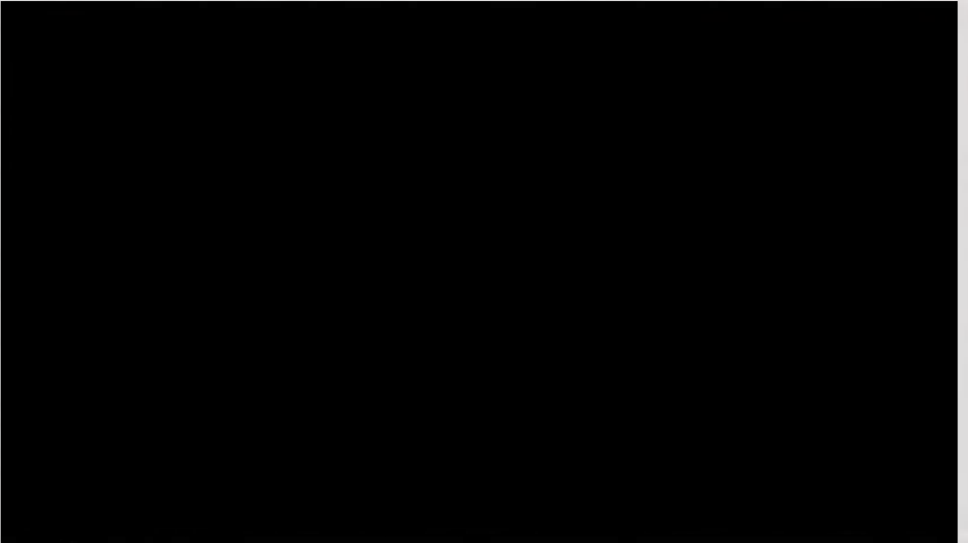


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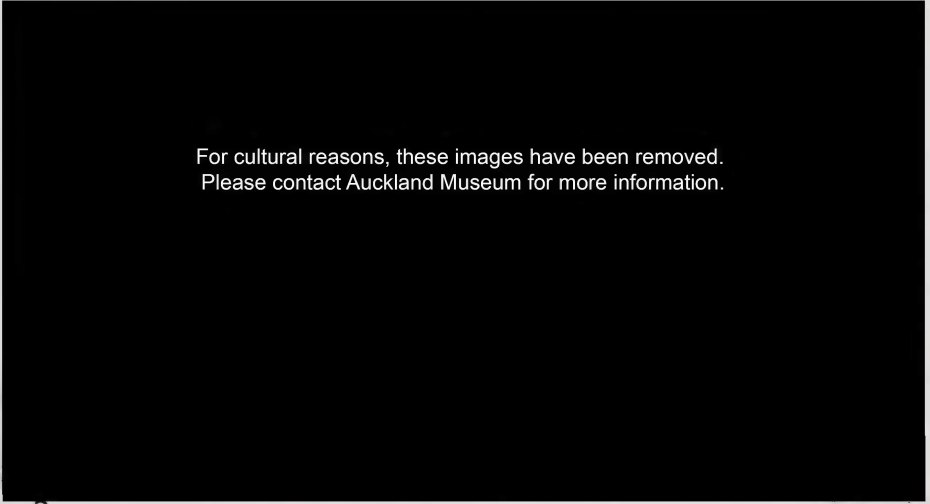
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Figs. 1 and 3. Waikanac; but "probably carved by east coast natives" (Hamilton, *Maori Art*, p. 46). Dominion Museum. Photo. Charles Hale.

Fig. 2. Prow of Te Toki a Tapiri, built about 1836 on East Coast (Ngati Kahungungu tribe). Auckland Museum, 150. Photo. H. Powell.

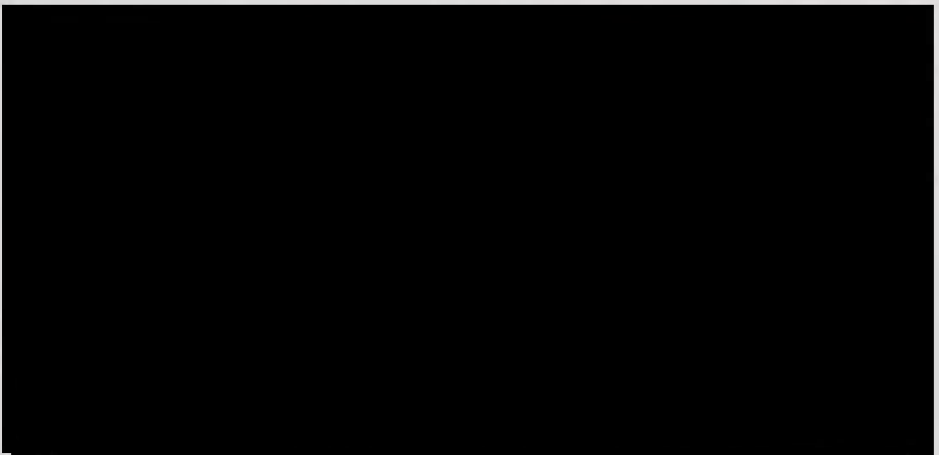


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- Fig. 1. Carved by the Ngati-awa chief Wiremu Kingi. Auckland Museum, 7375.
- Fig. 2. Ngatiawa: a relic of Te Rauparaha's raid to Queen Charlotte Sound. University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Fig. 3. "East Coast of North Island" (Hamilton, *Maori Art*, p. 44). Present location unknown. Photo. Dominion Museum.

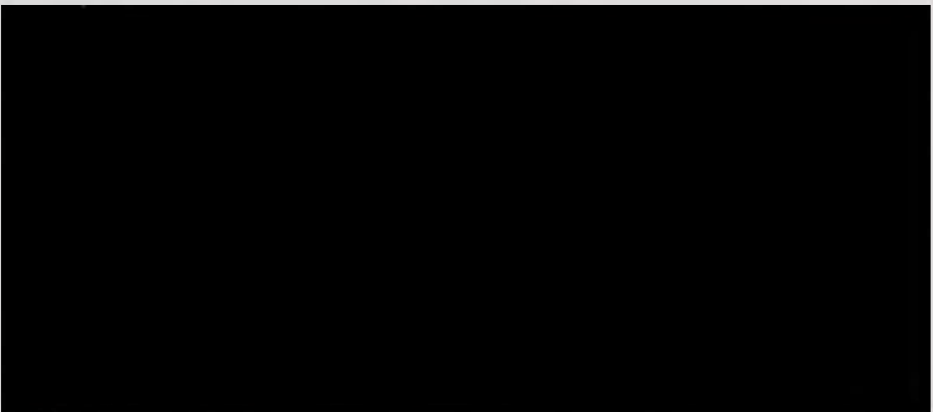


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Fig. 1. Peabody Museum of Salem.

Fig. 2. Wanganui Museum.

Fig. 3. Purchased in England by the donor, Mr. T. H. Hopkins. Auckland Museum, 29722.



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- Fig. 1. Royal Scottish Museum.
- Fig. 2. Okehu, Wanganui. Dominion Museum.
- Fig. 3. On model canoe purchased in England. No record. Auckland Museum.
Photo. H. Powell.

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Fig. 1. British Museum. Locality unknown.

Fig. 2. Mokau. Auckland Museum, 5676.

Fig. 3. Locality uncertain. Canterbury Museum, 141.788*

* "Locality . . . probably a little to the north of East Cape": Maori Art, p. 44. Dr. Duff comments: "I think Hamilton's reference to this as from East Cape was a guess based on style. On grounds of style and the likelihood of provenance which our records can establish, I would assign this to Cook Strait." (North Taranaki influence.)

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Fig. 1. Auckland Museum, 2711. Locality unknown.

Fig. 2. Canoe figure-head. Thames district. Auckland Museum, 5998.